

COMPLAINT

October 29, 2004

Office of General Counsel Federal Election Commission 999 E Street, NW Washington, D.C. 20463

MUR # 5598

COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL
COUNS:L

Dear Sir or Madam:

I submit this complaint on behalf of the Utah Democratic Party to identify obvious and massive violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act by the John Swallow for Congress Committee, the National Republican Campaign Committee (NRCC) and the Utah Republican Committee (URC). Rather than comply with the law they have conspired to finance illegally a direct mail and canvassing campaign on behalf of John Swallow. They have spent tens, if not hundreds, of thousands of dollars in this illegal effort. This scheme has enabled the John Swallow Campaign to accept financial support from the NRCC far in excess of what is permitted by law. This scheme suggests a pattern and practice by the NRCC of evading the law that is unlikely to have been confined to the Second District of Utah. It also appears that as part of this scheme that NRCC, the URC and John Swallow have misused the nonprofit postal permit of the URC to subsidize illegally the John Swallow campaign.

In interviews, Utah GOP Chairman Joe Cannon and Executive Director Spencer Jenkins have publicly admitted the facts that constitute the violations. These violations are documented in news accounts and interviews conducted and published in the Utah Deseret Morning News and Salt Lake Tribune. (see exhibits 1-4).

FACTS

- 1. John Swallow is a Republican and is running in the 2nd Congressional District in Utah.
- 2. On or about October 23 and 27, 2004, URC mailed two brochures on behalf of John Swallow to some 76,000 2nd District residents. (Exhibits 5-6). Conservatively estimated, the value of these mailings exceed \$76,000. It is believed that these were only the latest of a series of mailings by URC that were developed, mailed and paid for by the NRCC and coordinated with the John Swallow for Congress Committee.
- 3. Spencer Jenkins executive director of the URC told the Descret Morning News that the NRCC printed, researched and delivered the mailings to the URC.

- 4. State Republican Party Chairman Joe Cannon told the Utah Descret Morning News that he had not seen the mailings and if it had been up to him that he "wouldn't have sent it out ... State parties across the country are acting as conduits for TV and print advertising created and paid for by the national parties and that is what is happening here."
- 5. Joe Cannon told the Salt Lake *Tribune* that the fliers were produced for the NRCC by Arena Communications and that Arena Communications would drop off boxes of mailing at the party headquarters. Arena Communications, Cannon said, would take the mailings to the post office for franking under the party's permit.
- 6. Bo Harmon, a spokesperson for the NRCC told the Utah Deseret Morning News "That was a Utah Republican Party piece (of mail). They researched it and printed it. We had nothing to do with it." and "We didn't produce them or pay for them."
 - 7. Joe Cannon and Bo Harmon cannot both be telling the truth.
- 8. In addition to these two mailings, the URC and NRCC has mailed and distributed by canvass several other pieces on behalf of John Swallow to the voters of the 2nd District.
- 9. Joe Cannon told the Salt Lake *Tribune* that NRCC workers were brought into the 2nd District from outside the state to work on behalf of John Swallow. These workers were paid for their services by the URC and on information and belief the NRCC.
- 10. NRCC and John Swallow have coordinated the mailings and canvassing through use of a common vendor. (Exhibit 7)
- 11. On information and belief the John Swallow for Congress Committee knew of and approved all the above-cited activities directly and through its agents including Arena Communications.

VIOLATIONS OF LAW

The mailings do not qualify as mailings exempt from the contributions and expenditure limits under 11 CFR 100.87 and 11 CFR 147 respectively. Each of those regulations expressly provides that mailings prepared by national party committees do not qualify for the exemption. (See 11 CFR 100.87(g) and 11 CFR 147(g)). Consequently these mailings having been prepared and paid for by the NRCC are subject to the contribution and expenditure limits. The mailings along with other advertising by the NRCC far exceed what the NRCC could lawfully contribute to the John Swallow for Congress Committee.

Payments by the URC and the NRCC to individuals doing work on behalf of the John Swallow for Congress Committee must be considered in-kind contributions. These contributions have not been reported and are believed to exceed the contribution limits of the URC and NRCC to the John Swallow for Congress Committee.

:

On information and belief, the National Republican Congressional Committee arranged and paid for at least two (and apparently up to 14) pieces of advertising in a federal political race and incorrectly and intentionally misstated that they ware "Paid for by the Utah Republican Party." In so doing, the NRCC deliberately hid the true identity of who actually paid for and authorized these ads. These deceptions took place approximately one week before Election Day. It is further believed that the John Swallow for Congress Committee knew of and authorized these acts.

The disclosure of the underlying donor is required under FEC rules to inform the public of the true source of the money behind the advertisements. These were negative ads and the voters of Utah should have been told who was truly paying for them. The National Republican Congressional Committee, Utah Republican Party, and candidate John Swallow's apparent efforts to evade the reporting requirement go against these important rules.

The Utah Democratic Party hereby requests the FEC to investigate this allegation and to sanction, fine, or otherwise punish the responsible parties as it sees fit. Given the time frame before this election, the undersigned requests that this matter be of high priority for the Commission.

Respectfully submitted,

DONALD DUNN

Chair, Utah Democratic Party

I, Donald Dunn, hereby certify that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge, information and belief.

DONALD DUNN

SIGNED AND SWORN to me this day of October, 2004

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GOP rips 'Matheson' for aiding a GOP bil

State and national parties blame each other for the goof

By Bob Bernick, Jr., Decert Marring Nove.



ELECTION 2004

Chris Cannon.

State Republican Party executive director Spencer Jenkins said the unfortunate, simation was discovered by party leaders when the middens— which he said were principle and researched by the National Republican Congressional Committee — arrived at party headquartities are also as a second state of the second s

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Jenthin skill pany instant - will include Christ Campilisolder tools ex, state GOP chalings Joe Campil — decided to send out the matter anyway to 76,000 Salt Luke Country households in Matheson's his

Jenkins said state leaders faced that if the mallers were returned to the NRCC in Washington, D.C., the party PAC would send them out had! And rejecting the maller could, Junking added, have hard chances of the MRCC participating in any joint afform with the Unit GOP.

Mathemany GOP schallenger, John Swellow, had nothing to do with the "unfaturate" matter, Jenkhar mid.

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no pert in the mix-up.

That was a Utih Republican Party piece (of mail). They researched it and printed it. We had nothing to do with it.

The mailier does carry the Utah Republican Party's return address and mailing permit number and says: "Paid for he the Utah Republican Party." But Jenkins said party volunteers just addressed the mailer, and sent it, out and the state party had nothing to do with the contest.

The filer reads in part. "Unly families pay taxes for the right to pay in-state tuition". and Mathenen wants to give it away to those who are liers illegally."

If details how much Utah families pay in turies, which, in turn, go to support Utah's colleges and universities. Jim. Mathenori, Wrong for Utah families, it adds.

Part of the filer also includes a headline from a Nov. 23, 2008, Salt Lake Tribune article about illegal allens coming to Utah. The article, Jenkins acknowledged, had nothing to do with illegal allens getting in-state trition.

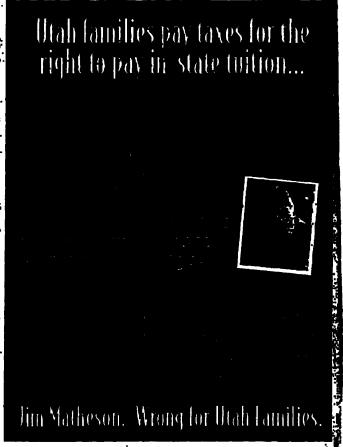
"This (nadier) points out that the national (Republican Party) will do anything, break any trust, have no integrity at all," Matheson said. "They will even throw two of their own (Hatch and Chris Camma) under the wheels of the Bus."

Matheson said that apperently Hatch and Rep. Cannon are also wrong for Utah families.

Hatch was not immediately available for comment Monday.

Monday evening. Rep., Cannon mid that he still supports his bill and has no idea why the "Utah Republican Party would criticise Matheson for coaponauring it. "I don't know what goes on over there." Swallow and the NRCC have

Swallow and the NRCC have taken a low road in negative compaigning, charged Mathoson, who added he was glad to



The state QCP blumes national party for putting tegether this files.

co-sponsor the Hatch and Cannon bill. The bill is still pending in Congress.

"I hope voters recognize (the campaign tactic) and reject it," Matheson said.

To add more irony to the mailer, in 2002 conservative state Rep. Dave Ure, R-Kamas, a member of the conservative so-called Cowboy Cancus and a candidate for speaker of the Utah House, sponsored a bill that passed the Lagislature in 2002 that also gives dependents of illegal aliens who live in Utah the right to pay in-state tuition. Swallow, who was in the state House at the time, voted against it.

The new state law has been working for more than a year, and dozens of students have taken advantage of it, said Nancy Lyon, University of Utah assistant vice president for government affairs.

Jenkins said the NRCC and the Utah Republican Party have worked jointly on 14 separate mailers that have gone out either supporting Swallow, criticizing Matheson, er both.

"This is an unfortunate incident," said Jenkins, who when first asked about the mailer by the Deseret Morning News saidhe did not recall that specific piece of mail and would have to research its origins.

It is too bad that proper "foresight" on the piece was not exhibited, he added, confirming that the piece is about the Hatch/Cannon Dream Act, although the act is not named.

New Federal Election Commission reports show that the NRCC has spent more than \$14 million across the nation on: targeted U.S. House races this year, Utah's 2nd District being one of them.

As of Thursday, FEC reports show the NRCC has spent just over \$1 million in pro-Swallow or anti-Matheson TV ads, mailers and telephone calls.

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GOP reaks campaign laws, Utah Demos say

By Bell Bewilck, Jr. Deseat Morring News

The Utah Democratic Party Stilling complaint with the Federal Election Commission over how the Utah Republican Party, a national GOP PAC and the John Swallow campaign are "coording ing" their efforts this year, Democratic stay chairman Donald Dunn said Tuesday.

Standing in the gutter outside of his party headquarters. Dunn threw down pictures of Sen. Orring Hatch, Rep. Chris Cannon and GOP chairman Joe Cannon to illustrate in his words "how the 2nd District campaign has been thrown into the guiter" by Republicans who will do anything in unsent Democratic Rep. Jim Matheson.

Dunn also had hansh words for Utah direct

Dum also had hansh words for Utah direct mail expert Peter Valcarce, whose Arena Cold numications has produced direct small pieces for Swallow, the Utah GOP and the National Republican Congressional Committee, Dum called Valcards operations "the High of disks and smeathern the Congressional Committee, Dum called Valcards operations "the High of disks and smeathern the Congressions".

Durat called the press confisence in responsition Tuesday morning Deserve Morning News article that desired how the NBCC and Utah GOR acted together to send out an and Matheson bry Chura to 76,000 Salt Lake County Yesidants in the

Swallow, a Republican; is challenging Mathe son for the second time. Righteen Landy held hi seat against a Swallow challength in 2002.

The mailer, written by Arena Communication with input from others, criticises Matheson for

Please see PMC on 2



FEC

supporting a bill in Congress the Dream Act—that is actually sponsored by Hatch and Rep. Cannon, who is Joe Cannon's younger brother. The act would give in state college tuition to dependents of illegal alians.

Valcarca said Tuesday that his, the NRCC's and the Utah GOP's actions "are completely legal. The charge (by Dunn) is bogos." Valcarce said Arena in the third-largest GOP direct mail operation in the nation, this year handling 50 Republican elients in 35 states.

Asked if it is odd that the state and national GOP would criticise Matheson for supporting a bill sponsored by bito leaders in the Utah Republican Party, Valence is id that while Hatch and Rep. Camon are "great legislators,"—the Dream Act "is not supported by a majority of Utah Republicans, not supported by a majority of Utahna at all."

Dunn also complained about another Utah GOP flier; one that criticizes Matheson for supporting a new drug benefit for Medicare recipients. That new law was passed by congressional Republicans and aigned by President Bush. So, again, said Dunn, GOP leaders are "using alease" to accuse Matheson of supporting a Republican plan.

"These mailers are dishonest and ridiculous," said Dunn.

plaints" to hold Swallow, states and interest to hold Swallow, states actions. Hopothics are will claim that the NRCC and the Utah Republican Party are illegally running a coordinated campaign.

The second will say that having Arena Communications handle direct mail for Swallow, the Utah GOP and the NRCC makes it impossible for the campaigns to operate independently, something required by the new McCain-Feingold campaign finance reform law, Dunn said.

"It's hard to believe" the three groups aren't working together on the fliers, he

It is not unusual for state parties and/or candidates to file FEC complaints toward the end of bither campaigns. And Dum admitted that he doubte the FEC will rule or even investigate the Utah Democratic Party's complaints before next Tuesday's elections.

"But the voters need to know what is going on," Dunn said. "Someone needs to take responsibility" for the fliets, adding that in the newspaper article Joe Cannon, said the NRCC was responsible for the content of the anti-Matheson ada, while an NRCC spokesman said it was an all Utah-GOP operation.

Valcarce said he works in this area all the time, and nothing is being done illegally.

The law allows for the Utah .
GOP and Swallow to operate a

honatices a mail rain page, and that; what is being done, he said:

"Affile it's true the NRCC is also paying Arena for direct mall services, "none of my NRCC work is being done in Utah," Valcarce said. He declined to say how much his clients are paying him, nor how many mailers he's sent out in Utah. He maintains the three-groups are not working insether.

At the very least, said Dunn, the new law is clear that who ever helps send out campaign material must be identified on the ad — and only the Utah. Republican Party is listed on the anti-Matheson mailers — not Swallow, not the NRCC.

GOP executive director. Spencer Jenkins explained: what happened this way. The state GOP hired Valence. With input from the state party and the NRCC Valence printed up various filers (the state party has sent out 14 different pieces in the 2nd District race so far.). The state party them uses voluminers (they can not be paid workers) to mail out the pieces.

Joe Cannon says the NRCC came up with the Dream Act content, while the NRCC denies that, saying the whole operation was Utah-based.

It may sound complicated, but it's legal, say Valcarce and Jenkins.

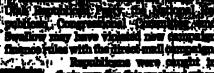
No way, says Dunn. The new law was written to

"The new law was written to shine the bright light of day on this kind of smear, so you know who did it," Dunn said.

Billik Mühmmen

National, state levels of GOP lame the other for attack ads

against Matheson; Democrats plan to sue over the smear campaign.



GOP mailing causing a rift in the party

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Article Last Updated: 10/27/2004 01:58 AM

Rolly & Wells: Local GOP stands up for itself

By Paul Relly and JoAnn Jecobsen-Wells Selt Lake Tribune Columnists Selt Lake Tribune

The blowup that led the state Republican Party to stop the National Republican Congressional Committee from using its nonprofit bulk mail permit Tuesday was sparked last week when the NRCC thumbed its nose at several prominent GOP candidates.

During a GOP meeting Thursday, representatives from Jon Huntsman's gubernatorial campaign, Ellis Ivory's Salt Lake County mayoral campaign and Bob Bennett's senatorial campaign criticized the repugnant tone of NRCC ads and fliers on behalf of congressional candidate John Swallow.

The message from the NRCC: We're going to keep doing what we are doing and there is nothing you can do about it.

Not only did state GOP chairman Joe Cannon do something about it by revoking his permission for the NRCC to use the Utah Republican Party mail permit, he informed Republican operatives imported by the NRCC from California to walk door-to-door on behalf of Swallow that their expenses would not be reimbursed by the state party.

Utah Republican Party officials have been swamped by complaints from callers incensed at some of the campaign filers, including ones that criticized Democratic Congressman Jim Matheson for supporting an immigrant-friendly bill that actually was sponsored by Republicans Chris Cannon and Orrin Hatch, and for supporting a national prescription drug bill that was endorsed and pushed through Congress by the Bush administration.

When the complaints were forwarded to the NRCC, officials there falsely denied responsibility for the fliers, said Cannon.

What comes around . . . Two years ago, several Republican Party officials were stripped of party jobs by Salt Lake County GOP leaders for endorsing Democratic County Council member Randy Horiuchi in his race against Republican Bruce Reading. The officials eventually were reinstated and the leaders who punished them replaced. Now, Reading is feeling the heat for his publicized support this week of Democratic Salt Lake County mayoral candidate Peter Corroon. B-mails circulating throughout the party suggest Reading be kicked off its Resources Committee. Reading claimed innocence Tuesday, saying Corroon put his name in an endorsement ad without his permission.

Learning by example? The students at Ensign Elementary, who have been taught conservation and responsibility, were troubled Monday morning while noticing sprinklers running at the Salt Lake City-run 11th Avenue Park for an hour during a rainstorm.

Paul Rolly and JoAnn Jacobsen-Wells welcome e-mail at rolly wells@strib.com

Standardies pay more than \$600 a year for the right to get in-state tuition...



Jim Matheson wants to give it away...

Utah Republican Party 117 E. South Temple Salt Lake City, UT 84111

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Paid for by the Utah Republican Party

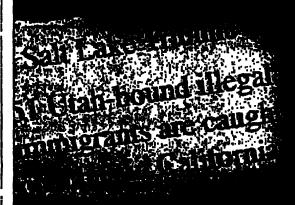
Utah families pay taxes for the right to pay in-state tuition...

Last year, the State of Utah spent more than S619 million to fund Utah's Colleges and Universities. Where does the state get the money? From Utah families. The average Utah family pays more than S4,603 in state taxes each year.

And each Utah family's share of the budget for higher education is more than \$600.

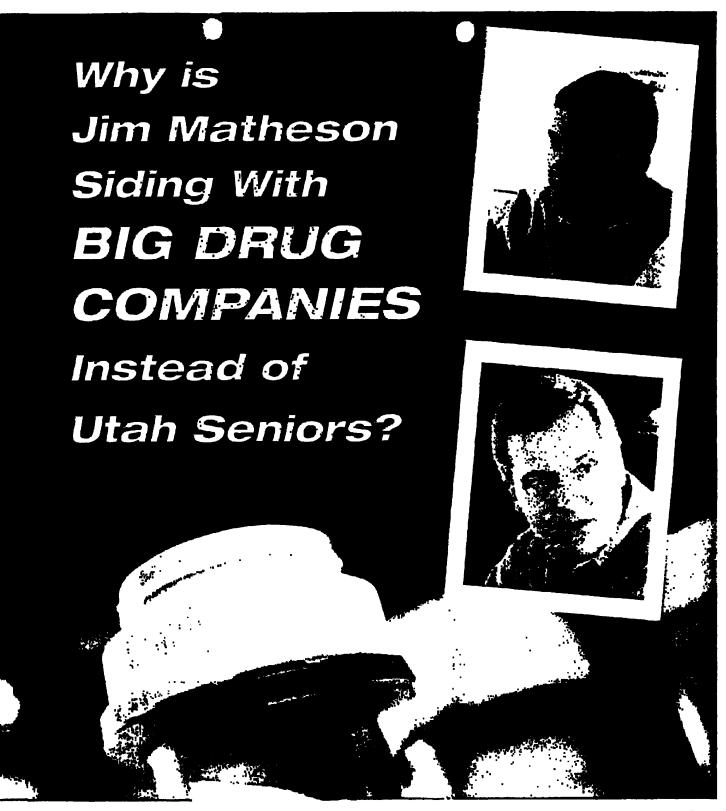
And Matheson wants to give it away to those who are here illegally.





Jim Matheson is leading the fight in Congress to allow the children of illegal immigrants — who don't pay into the system — the right to pay in- state tuition for College.

Jim Matheson. Wrong for Utah Families.



Utah Republican Party 117 E. South Temple Salt Lake City. UT 84111

218 180-34012



Exhalist 6

Utah's Seniors Need Affordable P. ascription Drugs

So Why Did Jim Matheson Vote to give \$500 BILLION TO BIG DRUG COMPANIES?

(Vote 669, 11/23/03)

Jim Matheson voted to create a new Medicare prescription drug entitlement. The cost of this program adds

over \$500 billion

to the federal budget.

The program does very little to help seniors and really benefits bia drug companies.

In 2003, Jim Matheson voted to add \$500 billion to the federal budget by adding a prescription drug benefit to Medicare that does little for seniors and benefits big drug companies.

And Jim Matheson voted against allowing seniors to access more affordable drugs in Canada.

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